

TESTIMONY OF SECRETARY OF STATE

CHRONOLOGY OF NON-USG SUPPORT FOR NICARAGUAN OPPOSITION FORCES

-- (12/8/83 - 12/4/86)

12/8/83 DOD Appropriations Act enacted. Provides that "During FY 84, not more than \$24 million of the funds available to the CIA, DOD or any other agency or entity of the United States involved in intelligence activities may be obligated or expended for the purpose or which would have the effect of supporting, directly or indirectly, military or paramilitary operations in Nicaragua."

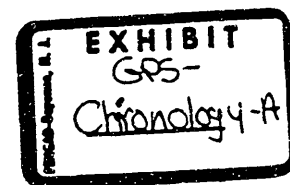
02/16/84 ARA reports to GPS that CIA program for Nicaraguan opposition has funding shortage.

04/16/84 MCFARLANE proposes seeking support for Nicaraguan opposition from Country #1 in a discussion with GPS, CASEY, and two other State officials. MCFARLANE also mentions Countries 11 and 12 as candidates. CASEY and GPS do not reply, focusing instead on legislative strategy with Congress.

04/17/84 Report from US Ambassador to Country 1. MCFARLANE has raised with him aid from Country 1. HOWARD TEICHER has already spoken to official of Country 1, telling him that Country 1 could contribute to the Nicaraguan opposition -- directly or use USG as a conduit. GPS says no to USG as conduit.

04/18/84 GPS tells MCFARLANE he does not favor seeking aid from Country 1 and is opposed also to seeking aid from Country 6 and says we should not get dependent on others -- we must do it ourselves.

05/9/84 GPS learns that TEICHER told official of Country 1 that U.S. would be intermediary for funding by Country 1, and that TEICHER made this approach weeks before U.S. Ambassador to Country 1 learned of it.



05/11/84 GPS confronts MCFARLANE with information concerning TEICHER and his approach to Country 1. MCFARLANE says that what TEICHER told the official of Country 1 was not authorized.

05/23/84 Report from U.S. Ambassador to Country 1 concerning conversations with TEICHER and MCFARLANE. TEICHER advised that he had called the official of Country 1 to say that any further discussions would be handled through the U.S. Ambassador.

TEICHER also told U.S. Ambassador, however, that in his previous discussions with the official of Country 1, he was operating on strict instructions.

MCFARLANE advised Ambassador that he had dropped his idea that Country 1 take over all responsibility for the Nicaraguan opposition forces because Ambassador "blew the whistle" on him.

05/25/84 ASSISTANT SECRETARY/ARA, LANGHORNE A. MOTLEY, presents possible approach to third country funding, developed by ARA/CIA staff, which includes notifying Congress. U.S. would facilitate, solicit and control the third country support, but not serve as conduit. NSPG meeting required. Countries considered as candidates: 1, 3, 5, 6, 11, 7, 13. GPS opposes both the proposal and the candidate contributors.

GPS speaks to CASEY on same day. CASEY agrees with GPS' position that U.S. should not solicit aid from other countries; if third countries volunteer, OK.

GPS tells MOTLEY no.

05/28/84 State and CIA officials continue discussion of funding options. Consensus opposes third country solicitation.

06/25/84 NSPG meeting. Discussion of third country funding. GPS raises legal questions and suggests seeking opinion from ATTORNEY GENERAL. MCFARLANE proposes no solicitation of third countries pending opinion from A.G.

06/7/84 UNDERSECRETARY ARMACOST asks MCFARLANE status of alternative funding. MCFARLANE replies that the Nicaraguan opposition is getting \$1 million per month, but he is not sure of source. Confident, however, that the funding will continue for the next 6 months, but cannot carry on next year without new source of funds.

10/12/84 Prohibition enacted against the use of funds available to agencies or entities involved in intelligence activities to assist directly, or indirectly, military or paramilitary operations in Nicaragua.

01/10/85 State Department learns that MCFARLANE had arranged a trip to Central America without knowledge of GPS. GPS insists that a State Department official accompany MCFARLANE.

01/15/85 MCFARLANE claims to GPS that NORTH had kept MOTLEY advised of MCFARLANE's travel plans. MOTLEY denies.

06/8/85 Congress authorizes \$27 million humanitarian assistance for the Nicaraguan opposition forces. Prohibits any arrangement with a third country conditioning U.S. aid on the recipient country's assistance for the Nicaraguan opposition.

08/15/85 Congress appropriates \$27 million for humanitarian assistance to Nicaraguan opposition.

08/20/85 HPSCI begins inquiry into activities of NSC staff in support of the Nicaraguan opposition (similar inquiry by HFAC).

09/4/85 ASSISTANT SECRETARY ABRAMS advises GPS that fundraising for the Nicaraguan opposition is continuing and arms shipments increasing. ABRAMS says he has not asked NORTH for any information about fundraising for lethal aid. GPS responds that State Department must not be in the dark, that the Nicaraguan opposition is an integral part of the overall Central America picture, being managed by ABRAMS, and that ABRAMS needs to know how they are getting arms. GPS tells ABRAMS not to say "go see the White House. It is very risky for the White House."

09-10/85 MCFARLANE responds to HSPCI, SSCI, BARNES, DURBIN assuring them about propriety of NSC staff and NORTH activities.

10/7/85 ABRAMS reports to GPS that opposition forces are broke because of foolish spending on huge arms shipment. Advises they need secure communications equipment. Suggests approaching third country which manufactures such equipment.

10/8-15/85 GPS asks senior official of Country 8 if his government would be willing to supply the radios. Official says he will get back to GPS. He subsequently calls GPS and tells him that Country 8 no longer manufactures equipment needed.

12/8/85 Congress expressly confirms State Department's authority to solicit humanitarian assistance from third countries. Congress also appropriates funds for radios.

03/31/86 DEPUTY SECRETARY WHITEHEAD reports to GPS on SINGLAUB'S agreement with PASTORA, and AMBASSADOR TAMBS' involvement. WHITEHEAD says ABRAMS very concerned about TAMBS, noting "it's all illegal apparently" and that there was "no knowledge here until it over". GPS tells staff "we have to take this on." Immediate cable rejecting arrangement.

04/4/86 GPS tells POINDEXTER that PASTORA will be told that he does not have an agreement with U.S. (On April 11 GPS instructs ABRAMS to tell PASTORA.)

04/21/86 Report at ARA regional that \$27 million humanitarian assistance largely spent; NDR on reduced rations.

05/16/86 NSPG meeting. Discussion of bridge funding for the NDR and possible Third Country solicitation for humanitarian assistance. GPS supports, noting State's discussions with Country 8. GPS tasked to draw up list of possible donors. CASEY mentions that Countries 1, 2, 3, and 5 all have some interest. (No mention of prior solicitations)

Early 06/86 Decision at State to approach Brunei. ABRAMS gets Swiss account number from NORTH.

06/16/86 MCFARLANE advises GPS that Country 2 volunteered and delivered \$31 million to the Nicaraguan opposition while USG aid was barred.

06/24/86 GPS advised by ASSISTANT SECRETARY SIGUR and AMBASSADOR that Brunei should not be approached on Secretary's current trip to Asia; need to lay ground work. GPS agrees.

08/5/86 ABRAMS designated by GPS to make contact with Brunei.

08/6/86 ABRAMS reports that he will be meeting an official of Brunei. Reports also that he has received a second account number from CIA. Asks HILL's advice on which account to use. HILL says "use original number."

08/6/86 NORTH briefs HPSCI members pursuant to House Resolution of Inquiry into his activities. Resolution withdrawn.

08/9/86 Meeting between ABRAMS and Bruneian official. Brunei will contribute \$10 million. ABRAMS turns over Swiss account number.

09/15/86 Brunei confirms that "arrangements have been consummated."

09/18/86 NORTH advises ABRAMS that Brunei funds have not been received in account, query Brunei.

09/23/86 Brunei agrees to run tracer on funds.

09/26/86 U.S. AMBASSADOR reports that Bruneian officials say they used procedures which would require U.S. to "wait for a short while before the transaction is completed."

10/16/86 ABRAMS tells GPS that HASENFUS plane shot down; no US involvement; it is a private operation.

10/24/86 ABRAMS reports that he has just learned from head of CIA Latin America Division that one of its operatives (probably in region) was involved in HASENFUS operation. ABRAMS says he believes that Head of CIA's Central America Task Force and CLAIR GEORGE did not know. Says Chief of Central America Task Force assured him that CIA clean, but someone is lying within CIA.

11/25/86 ABRAMS reports that Brunei money still has not reached the Nicaraguan opposition. HILL instructs that information be given to LEGAL ADVISER SOFAER (out of town).

ABRAMS briefing of SSCI re third country funding of Nicaraguan opposition, does not mention Brunei solicitation, misleads Committee.

12/1/86 SOFAER is informed of Brunei situation. AMBASSADOR instructed to advise Brunei that if funds still in Brunei's control, they should be frozen.

12/4/86 U.S. AMBASSADOR informs Department that Brunei had transferred funds on August 19, and transfer could not be withdrawn.

Department sends diplomatic note to Swiss. Accounts related to Lake Resources and LTC NORTH frozen.

12/8/86 ABRAMS testifies before SSCI concerning his November 25 briefing. Discloses Brunei pursuant to guidance from the Department. Is heavily criticized by Senators.